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SECRETARY KISSINGER AND THE FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE

ANNCR: WITH HIS RECENT WEST COAST SPEECHES, SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER HAS ENTERED THE NATIONAL DEBATE ON DETENTE AND RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HE MAKES A STRONG PLEA FOR A FOREIGN POLICY OF STEADFASTNESS WHICH AVOIDS A RECKLESS SWING BETWEEN CONFRONTATION AND ABDICATION OF COMMITMENTS . VOA NEWS ANALYST JOHN ALBERT HAS THESE OBSERVATIONS:

VOICE: SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS EVERY INTENTION OF ADDRESSING THE AMERICAN PUBLIC IN THIS ELECTION YEAR, NOT, AS HE EMPHASIZES, TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC ISSUES, BUT TO DEFEND THE BROAD CONCEPTS OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS. AS ONE OFFICIAL COMMENTED ON THE SECRETARY'S SAN FRANCISCO SPEECH LAST WEEK, MISTER KISSINGER IS CONVINCED THAT THE EARLIER AMERICAN POLICY OF CONTAINMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION, COULD ONLY PARTIALLY REALIZE ITS AIMS. THE INTENT WAS TO BUILD ALLIANCES AND POSITIONS OF MILITARY STRENGTH FROM WHICH TO CONTAIN AND ISOLATE THE SOVIET UNION AND THUS PRODUCE PERMAMENT STABILITY, POSITIVE EVOLUTION OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM AND GREATER NORMALITY. IN SHORT, CONTAINMENT ENVISAGED FINAL SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS IN RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

BUT THAT COUNTRY'S EMERGENCE AS A NUCLEAR SUPERPOWER PERMITS NO NEAT AND FINAL SOLUTIONS. WHAT IS REQUIRED, IN THE VIEW OF SECRETARY KISSINGER, IS A POLICY WHICH MANAGES, RATHER THAN SOLVES THE EXISTING PROBLEMS. MISTER KISSINGER IS SOMETIMES PICTURED AS HOLDING A BASICALLY PESSIMISTIC VIEW OF THE FUTURE OF WESTERN DEMOCRACIES, BUT IN REALITY, HIS POSITION IS MUCH MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN THAT OF SOME OF HIS MAJOR DOMESTIC CRITICS. "WE MUST MANAGE," HE SAYS, " A FUNDAMENTAL CLASH OF IDEOLOGIES AND HARNESS

THE RIVALRY OF THE NUCLEAR SUPERPOWERS, FIRST INTO COEXISTENCE, AND THEN MOLD COEXISTENCE INTO A MORE POSITIVE AND COOPERATIVE FUTURE."

SUCH AN AMERICAN POLICY, THE SECRETARY ADDS, MUST BE COMPLEX, MUST STRIVE FOR AN EQUILIBRIUM OF POWER, PROVIDING PENALITIES FOR EXPANSIONIST SOVIET DESIGNS AND INCENTIVES FOR SOVIET RESTRAINT. THIS IS THE WAY HE APPROACHES U.S.- SOVIET RELATIONS IN GENERAL AND ARMS LIMITATION TALKS IN PARTICULAR. HIS POLICY, HE EMPHASIZES, WOULD NEVER PERMIT A SHIFT IN THE STRATEGIC BALANCE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES AND IT REQUIRES A DEFENSE BUDGET NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN STRATEGIC SUFFICIENCY. THIS POINT HAS ALSO BEEN MADE VERY STRONGLY BY PRESIDENT FORD WHO HAS DECLARED REPEATEDLY THAT AMERICA'S DEFENSES MUST BE " SECOND TO NONE."

SECRETARY KISSINGER'S SERIOUS AND RESPONSIBLE CRITICS IN THE NATIONAL DEBATE ARE CONCERNED THAT THE STRATEGIC BALANCE IS ALREADY SHIFTING AGAINST THE UNITED STATES AND IN FAVOR OF THE SOVIET UNION. AND THEY ARGUE THAT DETENTE FOR THE SOVIET UNION MEANS, IN THE WORDS OF FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY JAMES SCHLESINGER, MERELY " CONFRONTATION IN ANOTHER GUISE." MISTER SCHLESINGER MAINTAINS THAT IN THE SOVIET VIEW, DETENTE ITSELF IS " A CONSEQUENCE OF THE GROWTH OF SOVIET POWER." WRITING IN THE FEBRUARY ISSUE OF " FORTUNE" MAGAZINE MISTER SCHLESINGER ASSERTS THAT THE MILITARY BALANCE IS ALREADY SHIFTING TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION. A STUDY BY THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SENIOR DEFENSE SPECIALIST, JOHN COLLINS, SUPPORTS THIS OPINION AND SAYS ONLY A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN U.S. DEFENSE SPENDING CAN PREVENT EROSION OF AMERICA'S ROLE AS GLOBAL POWER.

(OPT) MISTER SCHLESINGER STARTS HIS ARTICLE BY BORROWING A PHRASE FROM KARL MARX'S " COMMUNIST MANIFESTO." " A SPECTER IS HAUNTING EUROPE," HE WRITES, " THE SPECTER OF SOVIET HEGEMONY. THAT SPECTER ARISES FROM THE STEADY EXPANSION OF THE MILITARY POWER OF THE SOVIET STATE. BUT IT REMAINS CONTINGENT UPON THE FALTERING OF AMERICAN PURPOSE." (END OPT)

IT IS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND OF POWERFUL WARNINGS THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER CALLS FOR A FOREIGN POLICY OF STEADFASTNESS AND BALANCE. HE AND SCHLESINGER AGREE THAT IT IS NOT ONLY THE INCREASING SOVIET MILITARY POWER BUT ALSO THE DANGER OF AN AMERICAN RETREAT FROM ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AS A GLOBAL POWER WHICH CONFRONTS AMERICAN POLICYMAKERS TODAY. AND SECRETARY KISSINGER APPEALS IN HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE NATIONAL DEBATE BOTH TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND TO CONGRESS TO UNDERSTAND THIS INESCAPABLE RESPONSIBILITY.

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